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301 Two other items, of purely ornamental character, were apparently part of the ancient daily dress of the men: a necklace of monkey or jaguar teeth and armbands decorated with feathers. In Spix's plate these are not shown, but Henry Lister Maw writes of "some rows of teeth round the neck and some feathers on his arms." Castelnau describes them as follows:

> ... la plupart d'entre eux portent aux bras de très curieux bracelets, qui sont fait d'un bouquet de plumes en forme de rou, d'une belle couleur orange, et qui proviennent de la queue d'une espèce d'Acari; ils les surmontent d'une outre [*sic*] bouquet de plumes flottantes arrachées aux ailes du Savacou, derrière lesquelles paraissent les longues pennes de la queue de l'Ara rouge. On voyait au cou de quelques uns un double collier de dents de tigre ou de singe.[8]

In Marcoy's plate, the Tukuna wear feathered arm bands (of cotton, according to the text) and a four-strand necklace of monkey teeth. In Barbosa Rodrigues' plate, arm bands also appear, as well as a double necklace of teeth: "The men wear great necklaces of pig's teeth ... and, on feast days, some arm bands made of macaw feathers, the arm bands proper being of small feathers of the scarlet macaw, and the ornaments being of blue and yellow tail feathers from the canindé macaw." Even today, the girls use similar arm bands during the puberty ceremony; the boys wear arm bands and necklaces of teeth in the hair-plucking and -clipping ceremony. Nowadays the ribbon of the arm band is mostly made of tucum thread woven or plaited on a small frame of rods (pl. 11, *b*).

[881] [286]

291 Women's dress was formerly a very short section of cotton cloth around the hips. In 1929 I knew an Indian woman who was the only one who still wore this regularly, but the girls used it until a few years ago for the puberty ceremony (pl. 12, *d*). This cloth (napa'), measuring 105 by 36 cm., was of a relatively thin and coarse woven cotton cloth decorated with some longitudinal stripes of black.

286 These cloths, as well as the slings for carrying infants, are woven on a vertical, rectangular frame of rods (na:'pavëru), the threads of the warp being passed over the horizontal rods. The alternate raising of odd and even threads (*Fachbildung*) is accomplished by means of a system of threads (na:-a'pëtjna, "navel"). (See pl. 8, *c*.) The woof is rolled over a small stick and spread apart with a wooden knife (tuë'përu). Tessmann denies that the Tukuna knew the art of weaving,[9] but even Marcoy mentions the tanga, and Barbosa Rodrigues writes of "a large tanga woven of cotton or turury which encircles the hips."

301 Rodrigues also reproduces the feather head ornament the men used to wear, which today has completely disappeared, describing it as follows: "... a large, feathered forehead band of the wings of the same macaw [*canindé*] edged with tiny red feathers and completed by four or five long tail feathers of the scarlet macaw in front." The plate shows this piece as a circlet of clipped feathers about twelve centimeters long, fastened together and mounted on a narrow band of some woven material, encircling the head; there are four very long feathers curving to the rear.

[237]

292 According to Tessmann, the headdress, called *nabátu* (i.e., na:-patëe), was made of the *Scheelea* (?) palm and feathers. My informants said this piece was a cotton bonnet with short toucan feathers attached to the woven material; it was used

[8] Castelnau, *loc. cit.*
[9] Tessmann, p. 561.

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announces his coming by the sound of his paddling, the strokes of which can be heard from afar. He then draws his canoe inshore but remains seated in it for about half an hour, without glancing at the house, while the host pays him not the slightest attention. Only later do visitor and host approach each other, the former bringing his baggage to the house, in which there is always enough room for him to be lodged without the slightest inconvenience to the inmates.

Formerly, the guest was accorded a type of martial reception, which Marcoy describes. When a visitor entered a house, all the men present seized their spears, pointing them toward the newcomer and pretending to bar the way. The guest, however, knowing the meaning of this procedure, pushed the weapons aside with his hands, entered, and seated himself in the first hammock. The owner of the house then asked: "Who art thou? Friend or enemy? Whence comest thou? What dost thou wish?" The answer was easily given, since the visitor had only come to trade and so forth. They say that in Peru this form of reception is still practiced.

The visit customarily lasts several days or even weeks, but does not grow burdensome to the host, since the guests bring all they need with which to provide their own food by hunting or fishing. More often than not, the owner of the house shares his meals with the visitors, who do likewise with the host's family.

Festivals

Gatherings by special invitation to selected individuals have much more social and economic importance than personal visits have, whether these guests are invited to participate in collective tasks of major importance—clearing a plantation, preparing house thatch, making preparations for great feasts, such as the puberty feast—or to take part in one of the ceremonies of painting and name bestowal, hair plucking and perforation of ears and septum, haircutting, change of voice in youths, first menstruation, or some similar occasion. We have already noted (p. 13) that the thatch trimming of a new house is also carried out with festivities.

Labor festivals.—There is a large class of ceremonies for which the guests arrive in the morning, receive a meal and gourds of drink from the hosts, then all go out together to work. That night they drink, dance, and sing until the following day. These gatherings, which are entirely profane, are called *vayuri'* (uajuri, ajuri) or pẽ'ta. The first of these terms, vayuri', is an alteration of the Portuguese word for assistance, *ajuda*, which passed into the lingua geral to designate these gatherings for communal work without payment; the second, pẽ'ta, is the Portuguese word for party, *festa*, pronounced in the Tukuna manner. This suggests that the Tukuna did not have this institution before contact with the Neobrazilians, among whom it is in great vogue; but one must also consider the possibility that it was already known by the Tukuna, who only adopted the present form and the Portuguese terminology.

Rites of passage.—The rites of passage have, however, a religious basis and are great ceremonies; the generic designation is dyeĩ'. Sometimes more than three hundred persons are present at these, and the celebration with its concomitant drinking lasts for three days and three nights. The vayuri' as well as the dyeĩ', are above all drinking bouts, not banquets.

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616 773 Only one of my informants ever told me a version of the legend of man's creation, attributing the institution of moieties to the culture hero, dyoi'.

> A great number of these people who were first fished for by dyoi' and e'pi were then thrown together helter-skelter, but dyoi' separated his to the east and those of e'pi to the west. [The episode of the institution of clans (see p. 129) follows.] Afterward, he made some marry others.

616 773 881 This version, however, is in accordance with the association of the two culture heroes, as well as the moieties, with the east and west, respectively. For moiety A the position of children and of girls at rites of passage, when prescribed, is always with the face to the east, and the girl's seclusion hut in the puberty ceremony is always placed—at least it was formerly—at the east wall of the house. Moiety B is oriented in the opposite direction. Thus, the men created by dyoi' and e'pi would be those of moieties B and A (*sic*) respectively,[5] but though men of both moieties deal with ta-na'tʃ ("Our Father"), I never found the slightest indication that some consider themselves the descendants of dyoi' and others those of e'pi, the former being always glorified to the disparagement of the latter.

616 881 In the puberty ceremony there are some significant differences between the two moieties. Thus, the turtleshell drum, pɔ:'vi, is used exclusively by clans of moiety A, whereas the stamping tubes, ba:'/ma, and the bamboo horns, kɔ"'iri, belong to clans of moiety B. Lately, the stamping tube has been introduced into the ritual of the Japú and Maguary clans of moiety B, a practice which two of my informants held to be an unwarranted innovation.[6]

Exogamy

582 835 609 The tenacity with which the Tukuna respect their laws of exogamy even today, their implacable liquidation of the transgressor, and the complete incomprehension of this by the Neobrazilians, even the priests, are the most serious obstacles to frank promiscuity with the Neobrazilian population, and by preventing such promiscuity they efficiently contribute to the preservation of the tribe. The Tukuna regard the *civilizados*, among whom incest is not uncommon, with a certain contempt, not only because of Indian prejudice but also because the Brazilian law forbids incest, even though they attach no great importance to the law itself. A priest who eventually gives dispensation for the marriage of a man with the daughter of the man's own brother loses the Indians' respect, though a man's marriage with the daughter of his sister is a different matter.

835 773 Incest, vɔ:'maĉi,[7] includes not only carnal union between individuals of the same moiety, but any disrespect shown the sex of a person in the prohibited degree of kinship, such as a simple, involuntary glance at the genitals. According to legend, the first person guilty of incest was e'pi, brother of the culture hero dyoi'. Desiring to take by force half of a royal hawk that his sister mɔva'ča had concealed between her knees, he touched her genitals. She was immediately transformed into a collared peccary (*taitetú*), but the demon ma/ĕj' of the jaguar race killed her with

[5] There is a discrepancy here. According to the legend given above, dyoi"s people (moiety A) are oriented to the east, e'pi's (moiety B) to the west.—Trans.

[6] Another discrepancy! The ba:'/ma belongs to moiety B but is also a recent introduction.—Trans.

[7] "Confused flesh": vɔ:, a jumble of wood fibers entangled with a cipó or liana; na:-maĉi, flesh.

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857 From the age of six or seven years, brother and sister no longer play together, each participating in the adult interests of his or her own sex until the age of puberty approaches and with it the major rites of passage tenaciously preserved to this day.

Puberty

Boys' puberty

881 Many Tukuna still vaguely recollect that in the old days the boys were placed in seclusion when their voices changed, but I could not obtain details of this ceremony, since it fell into disuse many generations ago. Castelnau refers to the fact that the youths "ont, avant d'être admis parmi les guerriers, à subir des rudes épreuves," and then describes a ceremony of forcing boys to submit to ant bites, a practice which certainly never existed among the Tukuna.[4]

838 *Homosexuals.*—Tessmann presents very precise information on homosexual intercourse between boys and youths: "Knaben und Jünglinge pflegen allgemein gleichgeschlechtlichen Verkehr, zumal auf den Plätzen im Busch wo sie spielen und kleine Häuschen errichten. Dieser Verkehr wird nicht bestraft wenn der Vater davon hört, sie werden nicht verachtet. Es giebt auch echte Gleichgeschlechtliche, die *tawuenangi* genannt werden."[5] If this is really so, I myself should have seen some indication of these practices among the Indians; however, not only did I fail to observe anything of the kind, but I was soon obliged to seek information from various trustworthy informants. All were aware that this vice exists among the Neobrazilian riverbank laborers, but they could cite no instance of its occurrence among the Tukuna. When I inquired the significance of Tessmann's term for homosexuals, pronouncing it in all possible ways, it remained completely incomprehensible to the Indians, except for the first syllable, *ta* (we).

Girls' puberty

881 As soon as a girl senses her first menstruation she removes all her ornaments and, if her mother is absent, hangs them in the house so that they will be seen immediately; she then hides in a thicket near the house. When the mother arrives, she realizes from the ornaments what has happened and goes out to seek her daughter, who responds to the maternal call by striking one piece of dry wood against another. Round the bed of the girl, which is almost always on the upper floor of the house, the mother then promptly erects a partition made of mats of *urucuri* thatching, to which she conducts the girl as soon as night falls.

Seclusion.—From then on, the adolescent is treated as a "vərëkj," remaining in seclusion, completely invisible and inaudible to all except her mother and paternal aunt, though not required to observe any diet. There are the most fantastic and inaccurate reports of this phase of seclusion. For example, Bates writes:

"The Tukuna have the singular custom . . . of treating their young girls, on their showing the first signs of womanhood, as if they had committed some crime. They are sent up to the *girao* under the smoky and filthy roof, and kept there on a very meagre diet, sometimes for a whole month. I heard of one poor girl dying

[4] Castelnau, p. 46.
[5] Tessmann, p. 563.

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under this treatment.'" The upper platform is not full of smoke, for the Tukuna do not use the dwelling for cooking, and it is no dirtier than the rest of the house. No diet is prescribed; and, if one girl did die during this seclusion, her death was certainly not due to any cause related to it.

Herndon, after some relatively good information, continues: "It is said that she frequently conceals her situation from her family, preferring a sound beating, when time betrays her, to the dreary imprisonment.'" Certainly, many civilized girls would act in the same way under the same conditions, but that a Tukuna girl would resort to similar expedients appears very improbable to me for the simple reason that, like her relatives, she considers seclusion a measure demanded by her delicate condition and promptly submits to it for fear of the evil consequences of some oversight. This cautious behavior is because the individual of either sex is believed subject, above all at the time of puberty, to extraordinary and supernatural experiences and to contact with immortals, ||'ne (see p. 137). The vərëk| is surrounded by invisible demons, ɲɔɔ' (see p. 89), so that any carelessness on the part of those responsible for her, primarily her mother and paternal aunt, or any negligence of her own may have the gravest consequences. Many stories illustrating this danger are told to the girl, as witness the following tales:

a) The puberty ceremony was drawing to a close. Just before midnight the paternal uncle insisted that the vərëk| be withdrawn from seclusion before waiting for the proper hour [before dawn; see p. 88]. He and the rest of the guests were already drunk. He no longer knew what he was doing. They brought down the vərëk| from the seclusion room but, instead of dancing with her until daybreak, they left her standing alone in the center of the house and, paying her no further attention, proceeded to get completely soused.

Then there arrived a demon, ɔ/mi' [a monster in the form of a gigantic lizard], which had taken the shape of a handsome youth. He danced with the vərëk| up and down the festive house, then outside in the yard, and finally carried her off to the forest, where there was a ruined old house, his dwelling. In this house there was still an old rocking-board [quiriçá]. He placed the girl beside him in the trough [of the quiriçá], sucked out her flesh and blood, and killed her.

When the assembled guests awoke from their drunken stupor, they immediately searched for the vərëk|, first in the seclusion room and then in the yard. Following the trail of hawk feathers with which she had been decorated, they finally found her at the bottom of the quiriçá beside ɔ/mi', who had covered himself with the girl's toucan feathers.[a] When they lifted her up, her dry bones rattled inside her empty skin. They killed ɔ/mi', whose lizard feet were the size of a small bench, more or less [5 cm. in diameter].

b) The final rites of the puberty ceremony had started. In the feast house they were drinking, and no one, not even the mother, paid any attention to the vərëk|, who was still in the seclusion room. But instead of passing the night on foot, as tradition prescribes, the vərëk| lay down in her hammock and slept. Behold, a band of monsters in the shape of enormous black grasshoppers came and jumped over her, sucking out her flesh and blood. Finally, her mother, remembering the girl, thrust her hand through a crack in the wall of the seclusion room, shaking the edge of the hammock, and called: "Awake, my daughter!" With this, she heard the sound of dry bones rattling. Entering the room, she discovered that in the hammock lay only the skin of her daughter with the bones inside. The guests assembled at the feast searched the trail and discovered the crack through which the monsters had entered. They were still clinging to the outside wall of the house, bloated with their repast, and there they were all killed.

[a] Bates, p. 406.
[1] Herndon and Gibbon, 1:237.
[a] See the description of the girl's ceremonial costume.

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881 773 539 o) A girl was in seclusion; a feast was about to be celebrated. Aside from her, there was no one in the house. In the kitchen there lay beneath a cover on the platform (giriu) all the smoked game for the feast. Suddenly, through a crack in the wall of her room, the vərĕkʲ observed a smoked monkey descend from the platform. Seizing a blowgun, it began to dance with this up and down the kitchen. Then a roasted sloth also clambered down, going first to the fireplace to warm itself, then it searched for the rattle stick, which was already prepared for the feast, and in its turn began to dance to and fro. After some time both returned to the platform.

As soon as her mother returned to the house, the vərĕkʲ told her what she had seen. The mother went to the smoked meat on the platform, examined the sloth, and, seeing that it was dirty with ashes, believed what her daughter had told her. "Nothing like this has ever happened before; I believe that you are going to die!" she said to her daughter. And sure enough, the following morning the girl lay dead in her seclusion room.

342 881 [616] Formerly, a small room, na-piⁿiⁿ (pl. 11, a) was made for the girl as soon as possible, against the east wall of the house if she belonged to moiety A, against the west wall if she belonged to moiety B. This little retreat was circular, two meters in diameter or a little more, and had no floor, since the vərĕkʲ sleeps in her hammock throughout her seclusion. The walls are made of long, white strips of burity, tied with cipó firmly together in horizontal bands. These extend from the floor to the roof thatch, where their tips are bent toward the front. On the left side (looking at the room) there is a door, closed by a kind of hanging mat made from [285] burity frondstalks set in a horizontal position and held firm by two vertical rods. Often today the seclusion room is square and is not erected where it should be, because the position of the house on the banks of the Solimões or igapó does not permit it. In general, to make such a room, people are called together for a work [476] party (uajurí) to which, above all, members of the clans of the vərĕkʲ's moiety are invited.

881 *Preparations for the feast.*—The preparations for the feast which now begins may take more than two months, sometimes requiring even one or two more work parties. Nowadays, what really delays completion of the preparations is the difficulty of collecting a sufficient quantity of smoked game for the number of guests; [136] game is now rare in the country (p. 26), and even fish are not caught easily.

The game is roasted on a forked grill, first in the jungle and later in the kitchen, [252] where it is then stored on its own large, covered platform. When the last pieces arrive, the first are already desiccated to the point where they more or less resemble charred wood. At the same time, the women prepare alcoholic drinks, of [273] which a sufficient quantity is required not only for the feast itself but also for the preliminary work party. In the meantime the date of the celebration must be calculated, so that the invitations may be issued.

881 574 *Invitations.*—Two invitations are given for any celebration: the first advising of the approximate time with relation to the phase of the moon ("in the first full moon"), the other fixing the exact day that the ceremony begins. Feasts are preferably held during the full moon, not because any magical influence is attributed to it but simply because it is much more agreeable to have the house and yard of the ceremony flooded with moonlight than plunged in darkness.

881 574 202 Invitations are delivered personally by the host, that is, by the vərĕkʲ's father or by a person especially charged by him. The messenger travels from house to house informing the residents that the celebration is drawing near and that the

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host suggests the bringing of masks, tucum fibers, and so forth. These trips generally take two days, and only persons with whom the vorĕkʲ's family maintains good relations receive an invitation. A Tukuna will rarely dare to come uninvited.

In general, the definite invitations are given on the eve of the festivities, usually simultaneously by messengers in two canoes, one going upstream, the other downstream. Each man carries a large bark horn, bu′/bu (see p. 42), covered with banana leaves to conceal it from the glances of women and children when the canoe touches shore. Blowing this instrument, the sound of which may be heard from afar, the messengers travel from one house to another, telling the owner the exact day and hour (by the sun's position) when the ceremony is to start, and ascertaining the prospective attendance or absence of the invited guest.

Final arrangements.—While the guests are preparing masks, tucum fibers, small drums, and festive attire in their homes, the final arrangements are being made at the host's house. At the quarter of the house where the vorĕkʲ's seclusion room is erected, outside the house a corral is made, consisting of two thatched walls, higher than a man, perpendicular to the house wall (pl. 17, *e*). The distance between the walls, which are about 12 m. long, is about 7 m. in this enclosure, called tɔ′/kʲ-piⁿiⁿ (tɔ′/kʲ, a ceremonial musical instrument, see below; piⁿiⁿ, enclosure) various ceremonies are carried out with the vorĕkʲ. She has access to it through a small door which, except for these occasions, is firmly lashed to the house wall. During the festivities the musical instruments are kept in the enclosure at night.

A cleared path extends from this corral to a spot on the bank of the river or igarapé several hundred meters from the house, where the musical instruments and the statues used in the ceremony are kept in water during the day, to prevent the former from drying out and to conceal the latter from the uninitiated. From nightfall on, only the persons in charge of the ceremonial instruments[a] may frequent this path, as the host expressly advises the guests. The yard is cleaned and enlarged, and the other paths are closed off by poles, except one that remains open for the necessities of the guests. A large platform about 2 m. high is constructed inside the house for the smoked meat; it is to the right of the seclusion room. The jars, water jugs, sieves, and gourds remain near the door to the left side of the retreat. The outside surface of the wall of the seclusion room (inside the house) is decorated with paintings, that is, bands or crisscross designs composed of triangles, rhomboids, and circles. In one of these quarters is painted the figure of a deer, the symbol of vigilance. At the top there is always a sun with a conventionalized human face, a star, and a new moon. Apparently, these four designs were the only ones painted in the old days, but today the wall is filled with less traditional figures. A photograph of such a wall, taken by a Capuchin missionary, shows a watch, machetes, a tent, a soldier, a woman, and so on; I myself have observed paintings of steamships and airplanes, because nowadays any guest may take advantage of the smooth, white wall to paint whatever comes into his head.

All objects are removed from the floor of the house and are piled on top of the dwelling platform, where the inmates accommodate themselves so as to leave the greatest possible space for the free movement of the guests and for the ceremonies.

[a] These persons are called ɨɔɔ′-tanⁱ (ɨɔɔ′, demon) or tɔ/kʲ-tanⁱ (tɔ′/kʲ, ceremonial instrument, described below).

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881 534 Before describing the performances, however, some explanation is necessary of the two elements that play such an important role in them—the ceremonial musical instruments and the masks.

The musical instruments.—We have already seen that the term "uariciána" serves to designate two quite different instruments, which share only their enormous length, their taboo character for women and children, and their almost wholly ceremonial use. One, the bu'/bu, is a conical horn made of a section of bark rolled into a spiral; the other, the tɔ'/kį, is a wooden megaphone. Instruments of [171] the bu'/bu type are very common in the Amazon basin and in the region adjacent to the Guianas. The tɔ'/kį, in my opinion, has never been met with except among the Tukuna, for whom it is of the greatest importance, being the voice of a demon; whereas the bu'/bu is merely an accessory instrument.

881 532 534 The tɔ'/kį was formerly invariably accompanied by two statues of muirapiranga wood (T., pu'kįrẽ). Of those that I saw on the Rio Jacurapá, one was a little under, the other a little over, a meter in length and crudely made, but I was informed that in the old days they were the height of a normal man. Into these entered the shades of demons, who sang through the tɔ'/kį, with no one approaching it; there were no men players. In those times the instrument was painted with clay of various colors; neither it nor the statues were kept in water, but they were housed in a small, closed compartment within the dwelling. I did not succeed in learning the names of the personages represented by these statues. One person told me that the masculine statue was entered by the spirit of an ancient shaman of the Omágua, who had been slain by the Tukuna.

881 534 During the festivities, the tɔ'/kį and bu'/bu—there are always two or more of the latter—are brought to the enclosure each day after nightfall and are removed before dawn. The host selects an old man versed in the ritual to take care of these instruments, and also chooses other persons from among the guests, *ad hoc*, to transport and play them (tɔ'/kį-ñarį-pẽru'/ñ, player)." No society, nor even an individual (aside from the host), is permanently in charge of the uariciánas.

Each instrument is carried in a horizontal position on the shoulders of two persons, while behind them a third plays it once or twice during the procession. In front of the ceremonial instruments march two or three piston-flute (ñẽ'kutį) players (see p. 43), and a few beaters (kvaidu"/į") armed with clubs, with which they run round the feast house and beat on the thatched covering, to frighten the women and children. The instruments are placed in the enclosure on forked sticks or sawhorses, with the mouthpiece at a convenient height and the bell turned toward the wall behind which the girl stays in seclusion. With some intermission, the bu'/bu and tɔ'/kį are blown all night. In the enclosure there is always a pot with drink for the players and also for the instruments themselves, for a gourdful is poured into their mouths as a libation.

881 534 773 The tɔ'/kį and bu'/bu were invented by the culture hero dyɔi'. Each tɔ'/kį bears a name given it by its owner: that of dyɔi' is called e:ta-vẽ ("Of the Star"). Other tɔ'/kį names are ẽẽa ("King Vulture," urubú rei), i'rava (urubú gereba), mai"a' ("Otter"), and so forth. First, dyɔi' painted his instrument with *carajurú* (*Arrabidea chica*, Bur.), but an immortal counseled him to paint it with clay of

" The *p* in pẽru'/ñ is pronounced with incomplete closure of the lips, almost like *f*.

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different colors, for which he and dyɔi' went out to search in a claybank at the headwaters of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo; it is in this paint that the taboo of the tɔ'/kį is especially concentrated. The legend of tɔo'ẽna reflects the implacable punishment by dyɔi' of a transgressor. The following is a literal translation from the original Tukuna text.

dyɔi' was making ready his feast. He made the uariciána rise. Then tɔo'ẽna wished to see the uariciána of dyɔi'. With her sister she went round them to the front. She climbed up [a tree] in front while her sister hid to one side of the path. They came beneath her with the uariciánas. She suddenly became frightened at a painting of herself. She asked them: "Oh, grandfather, where didst thou kill thy alligator?" [By now hallucinated because of the uariciána painting, she thought she saw an alligator.] She urinated much and, pa'!, fell. Then they took advantage of the situation, to kill her. Later, they returned after having killed tɔo'ẽna. They cut her into quarters in the place of the uariciánas on the banks of the ə'vaɾõ [a small tributary on the right bank of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo, a little below the place where dyɔi' dwelt], and that is why the ə'vaɾõ is the color of blood, because they quartered tɔo'ẽna there. Afterward they smoked her flesh.

At midnight the uariciána sounded again. They brought the mush [made of tɔo'ẽna's flesh] to the feast. dyɔi' summoned everyone, including her mother and sister. dyɔi' painted the hollows beneath their eyes with soot from cooking vessels, in order to kill them if they smeared the soot by weeping. Then dyɔi' called her soul [through the uariciána]:

"The piston flutes [that is, the players who go before the uariciánas] have already slain me, oh, Mother! In the time when I was alive, oh, Mother, when thou didst leave me for a while, the beads about my waist did move before thee, oh, Mother! In the time when I was alive, oh, Mother, when thou didst send me to the spring, my hair waved before thee, oh, Mother! Yonder on the spit of land tawə̃gi'ne [name of dyɔi's house] my flesh is smoked, oh Mother!"

In the journal of Padre Samuel Fritz there is a report on the use, in 1691, of the uariciána, probably the bʊ'/bʊ, among the Yurimagua of the now extinct village of Nossa Senhora das Neves (which was on an island of the Solimões near the present Fonte Bôa).

What I unearthed was unusual in this Yurimagua village; they were celebrating a feast when, from the hut where I lay, I heard the playing of a flute which caused me such a fright that I could not suffer its sound; I ordered them to cease blowing, and inquired what it was; to which they answered that in this manner they signaled and called to Guaricana,[11] who was the Devil, and who since the times of their forefathers came and attended their villages visibly, and for whom they always made a house away from the village in the forest, and there they brought him drink and the ill for him to cure. I went on to ask with what visage the figure appeared. The *curaca*[12] named Mativa answered me: "Father, I cannot explain it, I know only that it is horrible, and when it comes all the women and children flee, only the brave remain, and then the Devil takes a lash, which we have prepared from a strip of leather from the sea cow, and he whips us on the breast until much blood is drawn. In the absence of the Devil, the whipper was an old man from whom we received great scars on our breasts. This is done, it is said, to make us valiant. The form that he used to take was that of a tiger, pig, and other animals; sometimes he became a giant, at other times a dwarf."

I asked further if he had said anything about me to them, or whether he would kill me, but they said that the words were not clear, "and since thou didst come," said the *curaca*, "the first time that thou didst plant the Cross, he does not wish to come any more to the village, or to cure any more the sick which some carry to his house; for this purpose we now bring them to you, so that they may receive the Gospel and not die."

[11] "Guaricuya" in the Evora MS.

[12] In Peru, a native chief who receives his authority from the whites, i.e., a cacique; in Brazil he is called a *tuixáua*.

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881 534 175 This is what I was informed, on this occasion, in regard to the Devil, about whom there had been a previous report that conforms to what is said also about the Aisures, which farther below they call Solimões, and the other nations which have similar communications.[*]

881 276 *The ceremonial taking of snuff.*—As far as I could establish, flagellation was never practiced by the Tukuna, who have, however, another ceremony linked directly with the ceremonial musical instruments—the taking of a coarse snuff called ka′/vị. The principal ingredient is a powder of toasted tobacco. The other constituents are bark ash of *cupuhy*, bark ash of pau mulato, ash of green banana peel, ash of the fruit rind of envira de matamatá, and a yellow lichen that grows preferably on the bark of the *javarí* palm, from which it is scraped. This lichen is said to belong to a demon named po′panẹ.

881 276 237 The mixture is rubbed through a piece of woven cloth so that an extremely fine powder is formed. *Paricá* (*Piptadenia peregrina*, Benth.) does not enter into its composition. The powder is kept in a special container made from a large, white snail shell (mẽ′ru), the aperture of which is sealed by a plug of mirror glass held by wax. Thrust into the apex of the shell, and also held firm by wax, is a short tube of hollow bird bone, about the thickness of a pencil, through which the powder is removed. Formerly, for the taking of this snuff, there was a device called ta′ru, made of a bamboo tube or tubular bone of the royal hawk, bifurcated by quills of the same bird to form two tubes, firmly joined with wax. (ta′ru also means "fire fan"; kvẽkura′/ṅ is "snuffer.") Today this device is replaced by a single bamboo tube some seven centimeters long.

276 881 The ka′/vị is taken within the enclosure, by night if in the presence of the uaricána, by day, in its absence. The host administers it to the men who present themselves, placing the snuff in the bamboo tube, inserting one end of this in whichever nostril the taker may desire, and then blowing strongly at the other end.

Formerly, the forked quills of the device allowed the ka′/vị to be blown into both nostrils simultaneously. As soon as a man receives the first application, he immediately closes his eyes, bows his head, and seeks a place where he can lie down or can lean against something. He is visibly stupefied, supporting his head on his hand or knees, yet I have never seen anyone lose his senses, and after some three minutes the effect passes.

When the uaricánas are in the enclosure at night, there invariably appear some little boys seven years of age and over, who circle the corral, full of curiosity and eager to learn what is taking place. Since they know what will happen to them if caught by the tɔ′kị-tanị* (the persons in charge of the uaricánas), and they are afraid, they dare each other in order to get up their courage, until finally the men in charge of the uaricánas pounce on them and force them to take ka′/vị. At that age the effect is even more violent, especially as regards loss of the senses, but I have never heard that it stimulates dreams or visions. When it takes effect, the boys are permitted to drink from the jar that stands next to the instruments, leaning against the wall of the enclosure; henceforth they have free access to the enclosure, being allowed to see and touch the statues and instruments. Perhaps in the old days this initiation of the boys into the mysteries of the ceremonial instruments was more solemn than now, when it is already on the road to disappearance because of increasing profanation of these mysteries.

[*] Fritz, Diario, p. 378.

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292 776 532 [534] **ma'vi, the araparyrana tree. (Pl. 18, *b*.) The fruits of this tree have an odor and anciently had an agreeable taste, since lost because the culture hero o'pi dropped them into curare before leaving the earth. The costume of red or white tururí, which sometimes has sleeves but never trouser legs, covers the wearer from head to foot. The faceless head is conical and has on top a plume of varumá stripe to the tips of which are attached small white plaeques of burity frond-stalks, rhomboid or divided, which represent the fruit of the araparyrana. The characteristic ornament of the costume consists of a painted, toothed J, simple or double. A rod is carried in the right hand, while the left holds a long, slim bamboo whistle introduced into the mouth through a small orifice in the tururí; today this whistle is almost always replaced by the long stem of a papaya leaf.**

čavi', maize. (Pl. 17, *a*.) The outfit, of white tururí painted with vertical stripes, has no face, no arms, and no legs. The conical head ends in a tuft representing a corn tassel. Two imitations of ears of corn are attached to each side, one about the height of the elbow, the other just below.

tɔi', caiarára monkey (*Cebus albifrons*) (pl. 18, *a*) and taikjrẽ', prego monkey (*Cebus fatuellus*) (pl. 18, *c*) are the two commonest types of costumes. Individually, the representation differs greatly, and in neither can one distinguish the animals whose names the represented demons bear, except that one or the other is shown with a phallus in the shape characteristic of the species. The faces are always diabolical; the garments, of red or white tururí, have no trouser legs and rarely have sleeves, the arms protruding through lateral openings.

292 [177] 293 [534] **The imagination of the wearers has free play in the ornamental painting of the tururí, so that one observes modern airplanes represented side by side with traditional designs. These outfits are characterized by rattles suspended by wooden hooks, or on fantastically long and thick spears, or even on a smooth stick of wood 25 cm. in length by 2 cm. in diameter; with these the masqueraders rhythmically beat against the hooks. Once I saw nine of these masqueraders holding a log as thick as a man's arm horizontally before them, with which they beat out the measure. Another carried a handful of slim, pointed rods of anajá ribs or similar material, which he threw, two or three at a time, like assegais, against the wall of the girl's seclusion room, where they remained sticking. The spectators shouted for him to throw them at the figure of the deer painted on the wall.**

● 881 **These tɔi' masqueraders always comport themselves in a very impetuous, cocky manner, beating on the house thatch before entering, and galloping furiously to and fro through the center of the festive house, with no regard for those who may be inside. After a while they present themselves in a threatening attitude before the jars, demanding drink, some of the tɔi' giving in exchange "their son" (pl. 16, *d*), a doll of tururí in more or less human form with a demon's face, which** [524] **is carried suspended from the backs and which after the feast serves as a plaything of the little girls.**

[415] **Those who have a face mask in one piece with the body costume drink by means of the tube of a papaya leafstalk. Afterward they again race off to disappear in the jungle, where they remove and store their masks; they never rest or sit down while in the house. As soon as a masked dancer, regardless of his type, enters the house, a few persons, sometimes even the owner or his wife, array themselves behind him and, holding on to his costume, accompany him in his mad career through the dwelling; to escort the taikjrẽ' or tɔi' thus is no simple matter, but it forms the favorite entertainment of the older children of both sexes. Probably this is what Spix meant to show in his plate with the two little girls holding the fringes of the masquerader in front of the rest.**

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On the third day of the feast, sometimes even on the second, but always after the vərēkj's hair is plucked, the masqueraders, after receiving a fee in the form of smoked meat, remove their costumes in the center of the house and leave them in a heap to be turned over to the host. 881

A few more comments may be made on the three illustrations of the masked race of the Tukuna in the literature with which I am familiar, the accounts of Spix, Marcoy, and Bates. Spix's artist, when he recomposed the scene, evidently no longer had the masks which Spix had collected or, if he did have them, they were incomplete, so that all or most of them were reconstructed from memory. Only in this way may be explained the following details: the strange cloth tangas worn by some Indians of both sexes; the nudity of nine of the thirteen masqueraders, who are shown wearing only headdresses, which never happens; the lack of fringes on the costumes (which probably had already been removed when Spix acquired the costumes);[14] the uncovered face of one of the masqueraders, which is contrary to all the elementary rules; the child carried in the arms instead of in a sling; and the turtleshell drum being beaten from the wrong side. Finally, the solemn pace of the persons in the illustration disagrees with the text, which states that they danced and leaped about like goats. Equally in disagreement with the text are the age of the child as portrayed and the color of the woman playing the drum. 881 114

Even less accurate, however, is the representation of the masquerade in Marcoy's work; it suggests that the author never attended such a ceremony and never had at hand the costumes, which he probably never succeeded in seeing. The best of the three accounts is that of Bates, who, however, conveys the erroneous impression that the ceremony he saw was a wedding.

Songs of the masquerades.—It appears that anciently each type of masked dancer owned its own songs, which the performers sang when they presented themselves. But nowadays very few know how to recite them, and many chants are already forgotten, just as are many stories referring to the origin of certain costumes. The following three songs are literal translations from Tukuna texts. 533 539 881

Song of the Two Saguins

The feast was ending. In the hut she was making a sieve. She caressed the marmoset [*saguim*] and said to him: "dya/dyu, if only thou wert a man to sing for food for me!" He then left. On the way he met his brother-in-law. "Let us enter [the feast house]!" he sang. He repeated what his mistress had said to him. "My mistress, dyĕkuʻčina, said to me: 'dya/dyu, if only thou wert a man to sing for food for me!'" They gave her smoked meat from the feast. His brother-in-law dəʻkara-čin[ə] [long ears] answered. He sang: "Go ahead! Put it [the smoked meat] on top of my ear; thou shalt see how tiny my hand is!" 539

Song of the Maize Masquerade

O mortal! If thou hadst not been well guarded already, I should not have been taken away for thee from the underworld ăčĕaʻku. In ancient times ariaʻna, by being immortal, took me from the underworld ăčĕaʻku! (See pp. 112 f.)

Song of the Rotten-Log Masquerade

Penica-pau![15] yataʻ-yataʻ, slowly or thou wilt splinter ĕʻranĕnĕʻ [name of the rotten log], the customary place of the yellow macaws, the jutting end [of the log]!

[14] These fringes are removed after the presentation of the masks. See p. 90.

[15] A southern Brazilian variant of *pica-pau*, "woodpecker."

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Beginning of the ceremony.—By this time, if not before, the paternal uncle of 881 the present or prospective vərẽkị has assumed his function as director of the ceremony, called vərẽkị-ę̃į̣', "drink of the girl." Sometimes he hangs his hammock next to the front wall of the seclusion room, since he is responsible for the girl. He is aided by his wife and the vərẽkị's mother, and by other relatives if necessary, in serving the drinks. The girl's father takes no part in the ceremony that directly concerns her person; the guests are his responsibility.

The arrival of the guests.—In the afternoon the first canoe bringing guests draws 881 up to the feast house. If the guest is someone of importance, the owner of the house, 574 beating his drum and accompanied by some members of the family, who strike the rattle stick on the ground, [302] goes to the door to receive and conduct the visitor. The guest goes up to the house, with long tucum fibers trailing down behind his back. His costume, if he has one, remains concealed in the canoe. Some time later, his wife also goes up, with the burden basket and the children, to hang up the hammocks in the feast house in the place indicated by the hosts. The recent arrivals greet all those who are already in the house with: "Nu'ma!," and all respond with the same word. Everyone is daubed with genipapo on the face, the women more liberally than the men (fig. 10), and the savage appearance that this paint gives to the features often contrasts strangely with the civilized clothing and the perfume flask, the neck of which protrudes from the coat pocket. The sides of the house are filled with hammocks and baggage, but the center remains free for the dance and the ceremonies. The men, almost all of whom carry their carved and painted dance staves (see p. 41) and their own small drums, seat themselves on long benches, which are customarily placed at the edge of the central space. Here the "uncle" of the vərẽkị first gives them a swallow of paiauarú brew in a small gourd and then afterward serves the paiauarú proper in a large gourd.

Fig. 10. Facial paint (genipapo) for a ceremony.

The beginning of the dance.—Soon some arise, place the dance staves across 881 their shoulders, hang the little drums on the lower tips, and, hitting the drums 535 with a measured beat, begin to march by twos and threes in single file around the 533 margin of the central space. They are preceded by the owner of the house with his drum, or by some other member of the family who occasionally takes over, it being a question of honor for the players not to stop the drumbeat once the ceremony has started. Thus passes the eve of the celebration.

Preparation for dressing the girl.—After midnight, about two or three o'clock 881 in the morning, the vərẽkị ceremony begins with the preparation of genipapo dye 386 with which to decorate her, and also of white tururí for her costume. A basket containing some forty genipapo fruits is placed in the center of the house, together with a scraper, some leaves of a plant called nu"u" (*Aroidea* ?), two muirapiranga mallets, and two sticks of white tururí, 2.5 m. long and 5 cm. thick. Half a meter below the upper tip of these a circular furrow is cut in the bark.

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The paternal uncle selects three persons from among those present, preferably from the clans of the vorĕk|'s moiety, and hands them the genipapo and the two wooden malleta. A man, beating a small drum, and a woman with a rattle stick remain standing to one side, as is customary in all ceremonial acts, while the other guests continue their march around the group to the sound of the drums. The man holding the genipapo lets loose a loud, prolonged cry: "yę!" The chorus responds with the same yell, and immediately the three persons selected fall to their task, one scraping genipapo, the other two peeling off the tururí bark by rhythmic beating with the malleta.

From time to time, for the three workers the uncle substitutes three others; to scrape genipapo he calls upon women as well as men. Slowly the tururí bark, turned inside out, begins to descend, and the mass of scraped genipapo mounts higher on the nu"u" leaves. However, before this work is started, the paternal uncle goes to the girl's retreat to close her nostrils by a magic gesture that consists of twisting something; if she smells the odor of genipapo prematurely, she will die. Out in the enclosure is heard the blast of the uaricánas. The vorĕk|'s mother goes to the seclusion room to measure the length needed for the tururí fringes of the armbands. As soon as the two pieces of tururí are peeled to this length, the bark is pulled back to its natural position, and the two bark tubes are separated from the wood simultaneously by a circular cut. The scraper is placed in the basket, the leaves containing the genipapo pulp in front of it, the two peeled logs to the side, and the tubes of tururí are doubled and placed on top. It is now 5 A.M.

Shortly thereafter the genipapo scrapings are squeezed. The paternal uncle with his clan companion, both clutching rattle sticks and accompanied by drummers, carry the two pieces of tururí in a solemn procession to the water's edge, where they remove the outer bark, being careful to give a sudden jerk to both pieces at the same time, and lift each into the air while a cry of "yę:!" comes from all participants. The pieces are washed carefully until they become whitish, after which the performers carry them back with true solemnity, marching with them round the feast house three or four times before entering. The sections of bark are opened by a lengthwise incision and are hung on the uaricána enclosure to dry in the sun.

The painting of the girl.—Now follows the ritual of painting the girl with the previously prepared genipapo dye. A basin containing the dye and two corncobs is placed in the uaricána enclosure, from which the instruments have already been removed at daybreak. The women open the little door of the seclusion room which opens into the enclosure and lead out the vorĕk|, who is completely naked; she covers her eyes with her hands to protect them from the sunlight.

On her knees and ankles she wears narrow bands woven of tucum (formerly of cotton). Once in the enclosure, she is placed erect on the leaves containing the squeezed genipapo pulp, facing toward the side belonging to her moiety. However, on two occasions when I was present the vorĕk| stood on a large, flattened ball of tucum fibers, which her uncle removed at the end of the ceremony. She had made these threads during the period of her seclusion, to prove that she would be a hard-working girl and in gratitude to her uncle for all his care of her.

The enclosure is full of women. One of them arranges the vorĕk|'s hair—the locks of the forehead are drawn to the front, the others to the back—tying them

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881 with a horizontal fillet in this position. The shaman arrives, and grasps the hair
302 of the girl's forehead, making gestures as if he were wrenching it. Still holding the girl firmly by the hair of her forehead, he calls all the relatives so that each one of them, first the men, then the women, may cut off a lock of hair, which they bear off with a shout of "dyę:!" and immediately hand over to the uncle. The shaman twists the ends of the hair clipped from the forehead, because, when the culture hero dyəi' first cut the hair from a vərēkị's forehead, a lot of blood ran from the cut. One by one the male relatives now dip a corncob into the dye and paint a curved line on each side of the vərēkị's spine from bottom to top (fig. 11), raising the corncob high each time they complete the upward sweep and shouting in chorus: "dyę:!" Afterward the female relatives finish painting her completely with the same dye. This done, she again returns to the seclusion room, the leaves with the genipapo pulp are carried behind her, and the door is once more securely locked. It is now eight o'clock in the morning.

Fig. 11. Painting of girl with genipapo for girl's puberty ceremony; design on back.

Transportation of the smoked meat to the feast house.—
881 Now the rites which have as a direct object the person of the vərēkị are interrupted by another act of general character, which some, however, quite properly, celebrate on the eve of the feast. At nine o'clock in the morning the host gathers all the guests together in the house and, always beating the drum, conducts them, decorated with tucum fibers, three times in a column round the house and finally to the kitchen. Upon their
[302] arriving there, a woman, generally the uncle's wife, paints on each cheek of every person a small spot of urucú, with her fingertips, sticking a bit of hawk down on each spot. As always, another person, standing to one side, shakes the rattle stick.

Going one by one in single file to the kitchen, the guests receive from the uncle, who stands next to the platform holding the smoked meat, a piece of meat, which each guest places on his shoulder. Then, always with the host in front, they again circle the house three or four times; when they enter, the uncle is already waiting by the other platform next to the seclusion room. One by one they hand him the pieces of meat they have received, and these are laid in their new places. Afterward the procession, making a few turns about the house to the beat of drums, again passes before the uncle, the guests handing him the bundles of tucum previously requested, and he hangs these from a beam near the seclusion room. The masked races customarily start at this hour, groups of five to ten persons, or even individuals, participating.

The girl's costume.—The feather and other ornaments of the girl are piled on
881 top of a tururí cloth with the aid of a cord stretched horizontally between two
292 poles set vertically in the floor in the center of the house. The uncle directs this service, which is carried out at his request by qualified men from among the guests. The feather bracelets have already been woven by female relatives on the eve of the ceremony (pl. 11, *b*). The main task is mounting and painting the macaw-feather crown and the confection of fringes for the bracelets, which are

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made of the pieces of white tururí the preparation of which began the ceremony. About two or three o'clock in the afternoon all is ready (pl. 12, *a–h*), and the vərẽkị's male and female relatives try the pieces on themselves, the men and women alternately dancing with them.

In general, the vərẽkị is decorated before sunset, within the uaricána enclosure, or in the seclusion room if it is already dark and the uaricánas have been returned. The girl again stands facing in the proper cardinal direction. In addition to the black dye which she has already received, she is now painted with urucú as well, on which hawk plumage is glued. She receives a cotton tanga, and over it is placed a kind of wide belt or tanga of strings of white glass beads of an antiquated type; she also receives pectorals of glass beads. Then ornaments are placed on her arms: bracelets woven with toucan throat feathers, long macaw (canindé) feathers thrust vertically into the bracelet, and the fringes of white tururí.

In front and back, falling from the neck to the hips, are two or more cordons of white tururí, each one with between fifteen and twenty toucan tails, which have been removed in one piece with the white abdominal feathers of the birds, interspersed with bird skins with bright plumage and snailshell rattles with bone clappers. Finally, on the vərẽkị's head is placed the crown of tail feathers from the red macaw and plumes from the heron and royal hawk (pl. 12, *a*). If the ceremony takes place within the uaricána enclosure, the vərẽkị takes care to cover her eyes with the tururí fringes. Then one of the women brings a heap of nu"u" leaves, which she distributes among the others; the vərẽkị squats on her heels; all walk slowly round her and tap her lightly with the leaves, reversing the direction of march several times. At last all shout in chorus: "dyẹ:!" and throw the leaves on top of the roof thatch. Perhaps it was this ceremony that Marcoy, without having seen it, wished to reproduce, and that appeared in his plate as a scene of flagellation.

The vərẽkị is again locked up in the seclusion room, where she must stand until the hour of release on the following dawn, with her hands supported on a horizontal beam and her face turned to the correct quarter of the house wall, behind which the musical instruments sound without interruption. She is not permitted to scratch herself with her nails, but must use a personal little stick, thrust behind her into the house thatch. According to one of my informants, in the old days, for this purpose a piece of wood was carved in the form of a hand with the fingers curled.

The festive mush (mogica).—At nightfall the vərẽkị's relatives bring a large pot full of mush (mogica) from the kitchen to the house. This food is distributed among the guests, who eat it, then continue to dance and drink through the night until about two or three o'clock in the morning, when it is time to remove the vərẽkị definitely from seclusion.

Removal of the girl from seclusion.—The paternal uncle, his wife, the vərẽkị's mother, her female relatives, and some brother or cousin enter the seclusion room by the side door. They seize the girl very carefully on each side, pull the feather crown down over her eyes, and begin to dance with her, as well as the space will permit, always four paces forward to the front wall and four paces back.

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881 The cipós securing the laths of burity palm frond are cut, and the laths are pushed to the two sides like curtains, so that the vərẽkị and her retinue may pass through. Very slowly, always advancing and retreating, the group approach the aperture, delay further in leaving, moving forward and falling back, and finally arrive at the central place in the house where they continue their seesaw dance, changing places slowly at the front. It is believed that in this hour the girl is exposed to the greatest danger, hence her relatives hold her by the arms with the greatest care, supporting her in front and back and holding the feather crown firmly over her eyes.

881 The way Bates explains the care taken of the vərẽkị by the female relatives is
114 amusing. Convinced that he was witnessing a marriage, he writes: "During this whole time[a] the bride, decked out with feather ornaments, was under the charge of the elder squaws, whose business seemed to be seduously to keep the bridegroom at a safe distance until the end of the dreary period of dancing and boozing." And in the plate we see the "bride" between two women, while a little farther away is the "bridegroom," making sheep's eyes.

881 During this dance with the vərẽkị it was customary to sing certain verses no longer generally known today. A literal translation from the original Tukuna text follows.

[539] 1. Oh, what is it now that our vərẽkị has come among us, all covered with plumage?
2. Oh, what dost thou say now of her toucan feathers?
3. Like a caterpillar [in chrysalis] our vərẽkị was placed in seclusion by us!
4. [Challenging the guests' slight animation]: Art not thou absolutely ashamed to chatter like agoutis?
5. I shall not become a disagreeable anthill!

After five o'clock the group with the vərẽkị slowly commences to go forth into the yard in their backward-forward dance, continuing to dance there and passing several times around the house until sunset, when the group halts, the feather crown is raised from the vərẽkị's eyes, and her arms are released. A shaman lays
[789] a firebrand before her. With rapid movements of his fingers he removes some invisible object from his own head and, with a gesture of rolling it in front of his body, lays it on the firebrand. Then, handing this to the vərẽkị and pointing out to her a pupunheira tree—or, if there is none, any other tree—he tells her: "Throw it at our enemy!" She throws the firebrand against the tree, saying: "tñ̃ñ! ča-rị-u'anị[a] na ma dɔɔ"ẽẽ!" (!; ča-rị u'anị[a], my enemy; dɔɔ"ẽẽ, "not to bear, support"). From this moment on she can again move about freely without her relatives' protection; she then usually places herself behind one of the mummers to race with him, and so she continues to dance among the others until the hour of depilation arrives, before or shortly after midday.

881 *The depilation.*—Interrupting the dance, the paternal uncle pulls out a lock of
302 hair from the vərẽkị, then she is led to the center of the house, where she is seated on a tapir hide—nowadays this is almost always superseded by a tururí cloth. A jar full of paiauarú and a smaller pot containing a brew of this drink are placed before her. The uncle and another person with a rattle stick remain beside these jugs. Three to six women sit in a circle round the vərẽkị, on the hide, and immedi-

[a] Three or four days!

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ately begin to pluck out her hair in small swatches by rapid, vigorous tugs. According to Tessmann, this is done "with the aid of the milk of a tree"; most of the time, however, no auxiliary substance is used at all. 881 302

Only rarely do the Tukuna apply friction to the scalp with ashes and lemon juice or with ant (tracuá) eggs, repeating the treatment twice. Nor do they regularly get the girl intoxicated in order to make her stand the operation better. Some girls even reject the drinks which are offered them. Most of them bear the operation with evident calm, only occasionally giving some slight demonstration of discomfort when hairs are plucked from the temples and from the nape of the neck. Nevertheless, I saw one girl soon show pain (probably more than she actually felt); although she did not cry out, she twisted and lashed about desperately. They then gave her several doses of paiauarú broth, with which she became so drunk that she was very nearly unable to carry out the rest of the ceremony. [147]

The plucked hair is piled together on a mat and then placed in a sack of tururí. Since it is regarded as of no importance, I easily succeeded in obtaining hair for my collection. At the end there is left only a small lock on top of the head, which is anointed with red urucú and twisted, finally being jerked out by the uncle and raised into the air, accompanied by shouts of "dyę:!" Immediately thereafter, the vərẽkị replaces the feather crown on her head and gets up; the uncle seizes her by one arm, another relative grasping her by the other; and away they gallop in a crazy charge around the room, gesturing, with the last lock of hair plucked out, toward the spectators' genitals. 881

Today the uncle rarely fulfills his ancient obligation of preaching to the vərẽkị an energetic sermon on her future duties while she listens and sobs. Seated on the tapir hide in front of her, after the depilation, he lectures her more or less as follows:

"You may now leave seclusion and marry. Be diligent! A lazy girl will also have a lazy husband, like herself. Keep respect in your words to your parents and brothers. Be obedient to your mother, never going against her wishes. Above all, you should never abandon her! Even after you are married, take care of her." And so forth. [867]

The presentation of the masks.—The masqueraders make their last entrance, run in a frenzy through the house, each immediately receiving drink and a piece of smoked meat from some member of their own families, and rapidly remove their costumes. These are piled around the vərẽkị, who is again seated on a piece of tururí cloth in the center of the house so that her head scarcely peeps over the top. While the dance of the others continues about her to the sound of drums, the women of the house, seated together on the heap of costumes, take them up one by one, separate the face masks, undo the seams of the costumes, remove the fringes, and roll up the tururí cloths in a large cylindrical package, which will be stored. They are now the property of the host and of the vərẽkị's mother.

The girl's bath.—Before the vərẽkị bathes herself, an arrow with a round wooden tip is stuck at the entrance to the house, slightly inclined outward. All among the present company that possess magical powers—and there are sometimes a half dozen—approach the girl, gesturing over her, a process that may well last an hour. Afterward, some five or six men related to the vərẽkị lift her up,

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● 881 still on the tapir hide, and carry her to the river's edge, where the mother and the paternal uncle's wife remove her ornaments, while the arrow is stuck in the water some four meters from shore. Completely stripped, the vərẽkị kneels naked in the water, and the same shamans who were busy with the arrow now wash her with [842] handfuls of water, always passing the liquid from feet to head to prevent her becoming prematurely pregnant. If the shamans overdo in this task, the girl will never have children; if, afterward, a girl is sterile, the same shamans must be called in again to undo the spell. Finally, the vərẽkị crawls on all fours between the legs of one of the shamans, who remains standing in the water next to the arrow. Giving a leap and circling the arrow, she dives several times into the deeper water. While she is going ashore to be decorated anew, one of the shamans pulls out the arrow and holds it vertically over the surface of the river, while with the other hand he makes gestures with water toward the arrow. Once I saw a vərẽkị, who was not carried to the bath but went afoot, throw before her path handfuls of ashes, on which she walked in order to protect herself against some malignant influence emanating from the earth.

The close of the ceremony.—The seclusion room and the platform beside it for the smoked meat are demolished, the wreckage being piled in the center of the house. This is swept, and all the rubbish, which is naturally considerable, is heaped up in burden baskets. Each guest takes an armful of the debris, and the women carry away the burden baskets full of rubbish, while others bundle up the dance staves, spears, and masquerade hooks. Thereupon all follow in procession to the river, where they throw their loads into the water (pl. 11, *c*). Unless this is done, all the residents of the house will sicken and slowly die.

On this occasion everyone takes a bath without removing his clothes; that is, [515] men, women, and children drag and toss one another into the river. Soon the clayey edge, wetted down by those entering and leaving, becomes so slick that any [522] push is sufficient to force a person to slip into the river. The scene arouses great hilarity and at times has a certain erotic stamp, but it is still an excellent refresher to raise the spirits of those who have drunk to excess.

The guests change their wet and muddy festive attire for workaday clothing, load their canoes, and leave, but those remaining behind take to their hammocks only after emptying the jars to the last drop of paiauarú. The house is again carefully swept and, as the only memory of the feast, there remains the vərẽkị with a cloth wrapped round her head (pl. 15, *a*), costume fringes thrown over the highest rafters, a few costumes dangling from the house posts, and some dance staves that escaped destruction thrust beneath the roof thatch.

No remedy is applied to the vərẽkị's denuded head; however, I once saw a [302] woman with a beautiful head of hair rub it over the girl's cranium immediately [757] after the depilation. I have never seen, or heard it said, that the operation has any disagreeable consequences for the girl except that she must wear a handkerchief tied round her head until the new hair has grown.

In the old days there was an additional ceremony immediately after the close of the feast, of which a remembrance is preserved in legends. The vərẽkị was taken by her relatives to some fishing spot in the igarapé and, standing erect in the water, was washed with a solution of the drug timbó. It was hoped that this

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would ensure a grand catch of fish. The following legend, "The Son of Timbó," concerns this ancient ceremony.

The relatives of the vərĕkʲ took her with them into the jungle in order to pull timbó for her bath. While so occupied they left her sitting on a nodular outgrowth of a timbó root, where she remained waiting the entire time while the relatives were busy in the timbó stand. Without having had any sexual relations whatsoever she became pregnant by the spirit of the timbó and gave birth to a son. When, after six months, she carried the child for the first time to take a bath in the igarapé, she noticed that as soon as she dipped the little boy into the water, the fish died in great numbers around him. When, in the second bath, this phenomenon was repeated, she realized that the boy was the cause and that he was the son of timbó. From then on she no longer bathed him in the igarapé, for fear that all the fish might die, but bathed him on land. When the boy grew older, his relatives used him to kill fish, allowing him to swim a little in the igarapé.

Koch-Grünberg collected an Arekuna legend of a boy who produced the same effects."

A couple of hours [boat trip] above the settlement of Santa Rita an igarapé debouches from the left bank of the Solimões; the old maps give it the name of Quiriá, but today it is called Igarapé da Rita. This name, which it bore even before the founding of Santa Rita in 1870, gave rise to the following story.

In this igarapé there was a Tukuna girl called Rita in Portuguese. One day, after her puberty ceremony, her relatives prepared a solution of timbó in a large basin made from a paxiuba spatulate. Taking the girl, they all went for a turn about the igarapé, where the present homes of Nino and Sebastião are now, and where there is a very deep sink (poço), which never dries up. They seated Rita on a horisontal fallen log in the igarapé and washed her with timbó. The fish began to die, and the current carried them off downstream. Everyone followed the prize, leaving Rita seated alone on her log. When they returned she had disappeared, and not the slightest trace of her was ever seen again; hence they were convinced that some immortal had carried her off.

Supplementary ceremony.—After six or eight months, when the vərĕkʲ's hair has grown again, a supplementary ceremony is celebrated, like the one after the first depilation (see p. 90), and like it called dyɔ-pa'kĕ̈ (to cut the hair across the forehead). The owner of the house, when he wishes to celebrate it, says: "čɔ'i ne'i ĕ' čа gu'u" ("I shall burn the fleas"), since they believe that, unless this is done, fleas will increase in a disagreeable way. For this feast drinks are also prepared, but a smaller group of guests is invited and no costumes are requested. Uaricánas and seclusion are also lacking.

On this occasion the leftovers from the previous celebration are burned in the center of the house—the masks and fringes but not the tururí cloth of the costumes, which they utilize as mats. The coals of the fire are passed round the heels of those present to prevent them from being attacked by fleas.

Subsequent menstruation.—There are few restrictions for this. Only if the flow is very strong does the menstruating girl retire for a while. The spirits of certain trees such as the kapok—*sumaȁuma* (vəči'ne), which the Tukuna identify with the *curupira* of the Neobrazilians—have the tendency to wound menstruating women with "arrows," even by day; this is why women do not like to stray far from the house yard while menstruating. Contact with menstrual blood makes a man inefficient (l.g., *panéma;* T., ńĕ̈[n]) in hunting and fishing, and even in other activities. A pepper bath is the most efficacious antidote.

[n] Koch-Grünberg, Vom Roroima zum Orinoco, 2:70.

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PLATE 11

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Girls' puberty ceremony. *a*. The seclusion room. *b*. Making the varïkj's bracelets. *c*. Carrying the remains of the feast to the river.

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a

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FEATURES OF THE GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

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PLATE 15

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Girl (varĕkĭ) at puberty ceremony. *a*. Girl with a cloth round her plucked head. *b*. Girl without the headcloth; the hair is beginning to grow again. *c*. Girl among her relatives. Nino ĭyŏn[ʷ]kĭ, stands behind girl.

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[302]

a

b

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PLATE 65.—Tucuna Indians of the 19th century. *Top:* Part of girl's puberty ceremony. (After Marcoy, 1869.) *Bottom:* Tucuna of the upper Amazon; a *Mundurucú* woman in center. (After Oeuluti, 1884.)

[p. 714 B]

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More than among other tribes, *Tucuna* children receive corporal punishment, especially with the external application of nettle flowers that are grown for this purpose at the edge of the yard. They play with dolls carved of muirapiranga, figures of animals, little canoes, small bows and arrows, and buzz-disks of gourd shells.

Boys' puberty observances.—There is a tradition that in former times, young men were initiated when their voices changed, being secluded and then perhaps formally admitted to the secrets of the megaphone (tá/ki) through an application of snuff called ká/vi, which is still used occasionally. There are no vestiges of homosexuality, as claimed by Tessmann (1930, p. 563).

Girls' puberty rites.—At her first menstruation, a girl is secluded in the house loft. This is not so cruel as certain travelers (Bates, 1863, 2:406) proclaim. Every girl submits willingly, convinced that her peculiar condition requires it and that its omission would be dangerous, as she is surrounded by invisible "immortals" and demons, who seek contact with her and at times cause extraordinary supernatural experiences. Many stories told to a girl in seclusion illustrate this dangerous state.

The people hasten to prepare for the girl a circular seclusion room adjacent to the east or west wall of the house, according to her moiety. They decorate the walls with painted bands and lines, and figures of the sun, moon, morning star, and deer, the last a symbol of vigilance and not a "totem."

Preparations for the feast sometimes require months. They prepare roast meat and beverages and make the house ready. The girl's father is host, but her paternal uncle and his wife direct all ceremonies concerning her person, being wholly responsible for her. Friends and acquaintances receive two invitations to the feast; the second, which specifies the date, is issued to the sound of the bark trumpet, which is carried hidden in the canoe.

In the exterior portion of the house, corresponding to the girl's seclusion room, a long fence is made with straw walls to conceal the megaphone (tá/ki), its statues, and the bark trumpet which operate behind it each night of the feast and are removed before daybreak and hidden underwater in the creek. People are chosen and invited to operate these instruments by the head of the house when the time comes; there is no permanent assignment. Inside the fence of the megaphone, snuff (ká/vi) or tobacco powder is taken with several ingredients (but not parica). The snuff is kept in a snail shell and blown into the nose by means of an apparatus made of a tubular bone and two quills of royal sparrow hawk feathers, or by means of a simple taboca (bamboo) tube. Boys of 7 or older customarily are given snuff, after which they may see and touch the instruments within the fence, which are taboo to women and to boys who have not yet had it.

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At this feast, as at the feast of children's depilation and ear piercing, masks are used (pl. 65, *top*). These are made, used, and cared for by the guests, who portray anything they wish, such as imaginary demons and fantastic animals. They are in no way associated with individual persons, societies, or other groups. The masked persons customarily remain unidentified until they deliver their masks to the host. About 90 percent of those wearing masks are men, 7 percent boys, and the remainder girls and young women. For costume, clothing is cut and sewn from the bast fiber of certain trees (*Ficus* sp.), sometimes in the shape of pants, sleeves, and fringes, and at other times in the form of a tight gown without sleeves, extending half way down the leg. The face, generally a horrendous caricature of a demon (pl. 64, *top, right*), may be attached to or separate from the costume. The mask representing the storm demon is distinguished by an enormous face and a phallus nearly 18 inches (½ m.) long. Nearly all clothes are painted with vegetable dyes. Sometimes the motif of the mask is identified by the song rather than by the appearance of the mask, which is entirely a product of the individual's imagination. The masked people, sometimes numbering 40 to 50, gather in a special place in the woods, and go to the house in groups up to 10, some of them running up and down at a furious pace, and others approaching slowly. They come for a drink, then disappear to make way for another group.

At the appointed time the guests arrive at the house with their families, sometimes numbering more than 300 persons. They are received inside along the walls, the center being left open for the ceremonies. When all have assembled, they go to the kitchen to be painted with urucú and to have their faces decorated with royal sparrow hawk down. After everyone receives a piece of roast meat, all return in a solemn procession to the house and put their meat on a stand on the side of the seclusion room. On the other side are the vessels of beverages. The feast now begins. Henceforth, everyone goes around the central space in the house singing to the accompaniment of small drums and carrying his dancing stick on his shoulder.

Early in the morning, the girl is brought through a door from the seclusion room to the fenced place around the megaphone where, with her face turned to the proper cardinal point, she is adorned with genipa and white turury that have been ceremonially prepared. Before sunset, she is decorated in the seclusion room with streamers of royal sparrow hawk plumage, a long macaw feather diadem, feather bracelets with white turury fringes, strings of feathers made of toucan abdomens and tails, shell bells with bone clappers, and ear pegs, which are prepared by skilled persons and tried out by her relatives. The women fan her with broad leaves. She then stands in her room facing the place where the megaphone and trumpet are sounded and scratching herself with a little stick. The guests in the main room are given meat and fish stew and cooked bananas.

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881 Several hours after midnight, half a dozen of the girl's relatives, holding her around the waist while her eyes are covered by the feather diadem, [535] dance back and forth toward the wall, which is cut open with a knife so that they finally pass through into the main room. As she is now more exposed to invisible forces, the relatives dance with her until near dawn, then slowly go outside and circle the house. At sunrise they uncover her eyes and have her throw a burning stick against a pole marked to represent the "enemy." She now walks without assistance and dances freely with the others in the house.

[802] Depilation follows. The girl sits on the tapir hide in the middle of the room while three to six women pull out her head hair in little bunches, [534] accompanied by a small drum (tambor) and rattle. She endures the operation calmly, not even drink being given to alleviate the pain. Her paternal uncle in a vigorous speech then instructs her about her future duties as a marriageable girl.

The masks are now surrendered, each owner receiving a piece of roast meat. The disguises are piled around the girl, until only her head protrudes. The cloth is then ripped and the shreds thrown over the house beams. The turury cloths, which now belong to the host, are wound up and put away.

The seclusion room and roast-meat stand are dismantled. The participants divide the pieces, going in a solemn procession to toss them into [482] the river. The girl is carried on the tapir hide held by five or six men over their heads in the procession. She undresses, and, kneeling in [751] shallow water where a magic arrow protects her against water demons, she is washed by all the men who have magical powers. She then redecorates herself and joins the dancers, who perform in the house until the last drop of beverage is drunk. At the end of the feast, everyone [522] bathes hilariously together, tossing each other into the water.

Formerly, in order to bring a large haul of fish, the girl was washed [226] again after the feast with a solution of timbó at an appropriate spot on [789] the creek.

Six to eight months later there is a supplementary but less ceremonial feast to trim the girl's regrown hair.

841 Subsequent menstruations entail few restrictions: a woman stays in her yard because the spirits of certain trees may injure her with an arrow and because contact with her would make a man inefficient in any undertaking.

836 **Marriage and adulthood.**—Sexual intercourse with prepubescent girls is unthinkable; with young women it brings shame on the whole family. There is no instance of ravishment. Rape is a grave offense to the parents.

584 A request for marriage is made to the girl's paternal uncle, but if the girl refuses peremptorily, she cannot be forced to marry. Public notice

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as the western rainbow. Some cause the dangerous whirlpools of the Solimões River, but can be calmed by the priests.

The culture heroes.—The most outstanding character in *Tucuna* religion is Dyaí, the culture hero, who made people, established all tribal laws and customs, and gave mankind the most important elements of material culture. He was the demons' most feared enemy. At times harsh and cruel, he is never deceitful. Even toward his brother, Epi, an intruder and shameless liar, he is indulgent and kindly, mocking him and punishing him only occasionally. The *Tucuna* avoid using the name Dyaí and call him Tànáti (Our Father), Baiá, or Búi. Sometimes Dyaí is called Téginènapii-va-ya (the one of the right knee), and Epi is called, Tavenapii-va-ya (the one of the left knee).

A long myth cycle recounts the origin of Dyaí and Epi and their deeds. Dyaí, with a blowgun in his hand, and his sister Maváca, with a net pouch, were born from the right knee of Nutapa; Epi, with a spear, and his sister Aikine, with a carrying basket, were born from the left knee of Nutapa, who was later killed by a jaguar. The brothers avenged his death and resurrected him. Afterward, Dyaí acquired daylight, sleep, fire, and cultivated plants, and saved Epi from a series of difficulties into which he had thrown himself. The brothers were joined by Teci-ari-nui, daughter of Aikine, whom Epi had seduced. Dyaí punished the seducer by compelling him to grate himself when he grated the genipa for painting the son of Teci-ari-nui. After he again took a human shape, the two companions created men from fish caught with a hook. Finally, they separated, Dyaí going east and Epi west.

On the bank of the upper Igarapé Preto de São Geronymo the *Tucuna* showed the former site of Taivegine, Dyaí's house; Epi's house, called Déi, is somewhat downstream. There Epi's son, Teku-kirá, lives today with many other immortals (iine, or má/gita), the men whom Dyaí and Epi fished out of the water. At night during the full moon one can hear them feasting but no one dares approach for fear of becoming insane. Some mortals (dyunati) have become immortal by taking a drink offered by the iine, whereupon they accompany the immortals to their residence.

The *Tucuna* have a legend of a world conflagration and a subsequent deluge.

The eclipses of the moon are caused by the struggle of a star with a heavenly demon of the Jaguar clan.

Messianism.—The *Tucuna* messianic movement springs from a consciousness of having offended Dyaí, the culture hero, by corrupting their ancient spiritual (not material) culture under the influence of the civilized people, and from a fear that the cataclysms of former times will be repeated. It also involves the tendency of immortals to appear during a person's puberty. In repeated visions, a pubescent man or woman in seclusion sees and talks with the immortals (má/gita), who sometimes may

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carry his soul (naáe) to their abode and keep it there for a time. The immortals foretell an imminent cataclysm, which threatens to destroy civilised people, and instruct the Indians to save themselves by gathering at a sheltered place and performing certain ceremonies. As soon as the Indians assemble, the civilized people quash the movement, fearing a threat to their interests. This happened in 1941, when the *Tucuna* met in Taivegine, following the visionary instruction of a 13-year old boy named Naráne.

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[Note: the bibliography refers to sources which are fully listed at the end of the volume. The full listing has not been reproduced for the files.—Analyst]

The master of the hut then addresses the stranger, and in the hollow ventriloqual tones peculiar to the Ticunas, asks, "Who are you?—Where do you come from?—Are you friend or foe?—What brings you here?" The stranger satisfies these inquiries one after the other; or, more frequently, his visit having only a commercial aim, is content to answer by exhibiting the articles he brings, and which he desires to exchange for the products of Ticuna industry. The arms are then cast aside in order to discuss the value of the goods offered and those wanted; it will be readily understood that the discussion is intermingled with numerous requisitions on the caïsuma. The articles of Ticuna industry consist of yucca-flour, blowing-pipes, hammocks, hunting-poison, and coarse cotton goods.

Some young girls with short-cut hair whom we had noticed among the Ticunas led us for a moment to believe that they shared the custom of cropping with the Yahuas; but the information we obtained on this subject disabused us of the notion. The cropped pate of these young girls was only the visible sign of their having attained the age of puberty, and was the complement of the mysterious practice which the tribes of the Plain of Sacramento, and notably the Conibos, call *Schébinnabiqui*. The Ticunas name it *Ihiéboah*, an expression which is less humorous than the other, and which may be translated "young girl," from *ihié*, woman, and *boah*, child.

After translating the word, it remains to describe the custom itself.

When the matrons find that a female child has attained puberty, they take possession of the young girl, conduct her in a procession to a hut built in a lonely place for the purpose, shut her up in it after providing some food and a vessel of water, and then leave her for forty-eight hours, the victim of *ennui* or her reflections. At the expiration of this time the matrons come to deliver their prisoner; but before giving her complete liberty, they rub her head with the milky juice of a *ficus*, which instantaneously coagulates, and forms, under the rotatory motion of the palms of their hands, a multitude of little balls, within which is entangled the hair of the young girl. These little balls, which the matrons snatch away one by one for amusement, tear away the hair with them, and make the patient scream with pain; two musicians, with their backs to the entrance of the hut, play an accompaniment to this proceeding on the flageolet and tambourine.

When the head of the victim has been thus completely stripped, the women cover it with a hood of yellow feathers, the shape of which reminds one of a species of toadstool (*Boletus*); in the centre of this is fixed a plume of feathers from the tail of the ara. Thus accoutred, the young girl, frightened and crying, is first led round the village, and then conducted in succession to the river-side and the forest, continually followed by the matrons, who whip her roughly with green boughs in order to harden her against the trouble to come.

After several hours of wandering in this manner, and an indefinite number of draughts of caïsuma which the young girl is forced to drink, they introduce her into a hut where a new hammock has been slung for the purpose. Utterly broken down with fatigue, drunkenness, and the switchings so unsparingly administered, she tumbles into the swinging net and immediately falls into a profound sleep. In the meantime, the assembled nation celebrates, with games and a remarkable consumption

4: Marcoy T-5 (ca. 1865) 1875 SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

881 of fermented liquor, the *Ihiéboah* fête. On this occasion dancers, with their heads [535] muffled in bags representing human figures, execute a series of figures more or less successful as an attempt at chorographic art.

On awaking in the morning the young girl finds the floor of the hut strewn with ashes. Without this precaution on the part of those who have shorn and beaten her, *Mhohoh* (the devil), at the moment the soles of the girl's feet touched the ground, would not fail to possess himself of her through the new path provided by nature. This formality concludes the ceremony, and, after the customary ablutions, the girl, again free, awaits without impatience the time when, her hair having grown, she is handed [582] over to a husband. As Ticuna girls are marriageable about their tenth year, and two or three years of delay are necessary that their hair may attain a certain length, it would appear that at twelve or thirteen years of age they may be brought under the yoke of Hymen, a classic phrase very applicable to their lot.

304 The male children, like those of the Jews, are circumcised a few days after birth. Female children are subjected about their fifth year, and under pretence of circumcision, to a species of mutilation the object of which is unknown to us, but which, if it had been practised in the Isle of Lesbos, in the time of Sappho, Erinna, Telesilla, Myrtis, and Anyta—other and better names I pass by—would have rendered impossible a certain dialogue of Lucian, and deprived Juvenal of the malignant pleasure of writing his satire, *Lesbides infamem*, &c.

776 At the period when the Ticunas formed a nation under the command of chiefs, instead of being, as now, merely scattered, self-dependent families, they worshipped a [178 god-creator, under the name of *Tupana*;[1] gave thanks to, although abominating, a spirit 619] of evil called *Mhohoh*; and believed that the soul, after the death of the individual, would pass, according to the works during life, either into the body of an intelligent being or into that of an unclean animal. According to their ideas heaven was divided 772 into two spheres, the one superior the other inferior, separated by a transparent vault; 821 in the first the creative spirit Tupana was intrenched; the stars which we see from below are the rays of light from his face, weakened by passing through the intermediate vault and the inferior sphere. Their astronomers admitted the revolution of the earth around the sun, and recognized in this luminary the brother and spouse of the moon. 823 According to them the rivers were the arteries of the terraqueous globe; the streams the veins; and their respective currents were due to the gravitation or simple motion of the planet around the pivotal star or sun.

776 From their systems of theogony and cosmogony the Ticunas have only preserved a 438 profound indifference for Tupana and a dreadful terror of Mhohoh, who from the rank of a spirit of evil, which he long held among them, has now descended to the vulgar condition represented by the attribute of an evil-eye. All the ardour and intelligence of these savages appears to be turned towards a free traffic in articles of toy-ware, gimcracks, and playthings of all kinds, and cotton handkerchiefs of staring colours.

[171] [1] We may remark, in passing, that in the Yahua and Ticuna idioms, as in those of Omagua and Tupinamba, of which we give specimens farther on, the spirit of good is always termed Tupana, whilst the name of the spirit of evil is different in each idiom.

5: Bates N-5 (1848-1859) 1892
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however, that the idea of a spirit as a beneficent God or Creator had not entered the minds of these Indians. There is great similarity in all their ceremonies and mummeries, whether the object is a wedding, the celebration of the feast of fruits, the plucking of the hair from the heads of their children, or a holiday got up simply out of a love of dissipation. Some of the tribes on these occasions deck themselves with the bright-coloured feathers of parrots and macaws. The chief wears a head-dress or cap made by fixing the breast-feathers of the Toucan on a web of Bromelia twine, with erect tail plumes of macaws rising from the crown. The cinctures of the arms and legs are also then ornamented with bunches of feathers. Others wear masked dresses: these are long cloaks reaching below the knee, and made of the thick whitish-coloured inner bark of a tree, the fibres of which are interlaced in so regular a manner, that the material looks like artificial cloth. The cloak covers the head; two holes are cut out for the eyes, a large round piece of the cloth stretched on a rim of flexible wood is stitched on each side to represent ears, and the features are painted in exaggerated style with yellow, red, and black streaks. The dresses are sewn into the proper shapes with thread made of the inner bark of the Uaissíma tree. Sometimes grotesque head-dresses, representing monkeys' busts or heads of other animals, made by stretching cloth or skin over a basket-work frame, are worn at these holidays. The biggest and ugliest mask represents the Juruparí. In these festival habiliments the Tucúnas go through their monotonous see-saw and stamping dances, accompanied by singing and drumming, and keep up the sport often for three or four days and nights in succession, drinking enormous quantities of caysúma, smoking tobacco, and snuffing paricá powder.

I could not learn that there was any deep symbolical meaning in these masked dances, or that they commemorated any past event in the history of the tribe. Some of them seem vaguely intended as a propitiation of the Juruparí, but the masker who represents the demon sometimes gets drunk along with the rest, and is not treated with any reverence. From all I could make out, these Indians preserve no memory of events going beyond the times of their fathers or grandfathers. Almost every joyful event is made the occasion of a festival: weddings amongst the rest. A young man who wishes to wed a Tucúna girl has to demand her hand of her parents, who arrange the rest of the affair, and fix a day for the marriage ceremony. A wedding which took place in the Christmas week whilst I was at St. Paulo, was kept up with great spirit for three or four days, flagging during the heats of mid-day, but renewing itself with increased vigour every evening. During the whole time the bride, decked out with feather ornaments, was under the charge of the older squaws, whose business seemed to be sedulously to keep the bridegroom at a safe distance until the end of the dreary period of dancing and boosing. The Tucúnas have the singular custom, in common with the Collínas and Mauhés, of treating their young girls, on their showing the first signs of womanhood, as if they had committed some crime. They are sent up to the girao under the smoky and filthy roof, and kept there on very meagre diet, sometimes for a whole month. I heard of one poor girl dying under this treatment.